Workers of the World, Unite !

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Truman Decrees Austerity, "Garrison State" for U.S.

Western Powers Move to Restore German Army

By Joseph Keller

The western imperialist powers, which five years ago after the bloodiest war in history vowed to keep Germany permanently demilitarized, have now formally agreed to reestablish a German military machine. This has long been central to the strategic plan of American imperialism for war against the Soviet Union.

Rearming of capitalist Western Germany was the primary question involved in the Brussels conference of the 12 North Atlantic Pact countries summoned by Washington. It was on U.S. insistence — in fact, overwhelming pressure — that the British and French governments reluctantly agreed to take the step that means the beginning of the reconstitution of the Reichswehr.

1,500,000 TROOPS

According to the decision of the conference, the Bonn government of Dr. Adenauer and the Christian Democratic (Catholic) Party is to be called upon to provide up to 20% of the armed forces for the Western European army of 55 to 60 divisions — some 1,500,000 troops — that Washington hopes to muster on the continent within a year under the command of Gen. Eisenhower. The agreement permits Eisenhower to expand the German forces if he thinks it necessary.

These German forces, according to the plan, are to be organized into combat units of 6,000 men each, with "tactical air power" included. Naturally, they will be trained by and under the command of experienced former officers of Hitler's Reichswehr.

A delaying factor in the plan for reestablishing German military power is the resistence of the Bonn government to the specific scheme proposed by the Brussels conferees. The Adenauer regime, aware of the eager desire of Washington to build its military strength in Europe around German manpower and industries, is demanding a higher price for "cooperation" than the Pact countries have offered. Adenauer is holding out for "complete equality with the other powers that participate in this defensive front." That is, the German ruling class is seeking an armed force under its own control.

That American imperialism is ready to make broad concessions for Adenauer's "cooperation" is indicated by the communique issued by the Western Big Three (U.S., Britain, France) announcing discussions with the Bonn government to "explore" the question of adherence to the Brussels plan "as well as any changes in the present occupation arrangements which might logically attend a German defense contribution."

ANTI-LABOR AIMS

No one is happier at the German rearmament decision than the officials of the Bonn government. The reestablishment of capitalist Germany as a military power is the aim of the rehabilitated German ruling class of industrialists, landowners, Catholic hierarchy and ex-Reichswehr officers who control the Bonn regime.

Their views on German rearming were summed up recently by their Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr: "We need an army not merely for defense against the East but also for defense against the excessive wage demands of the trade unions."

CARL SKOGLUND ORDERED DEPORTED; WILL APPEAL

NEW YORK, Dec. 15 — Carl Skoglund, 67-year-old Minnesota union leader, was ordered deported at the conclusion of a hearing before the U.S. Immigration Service in New York City today. Skoglund was the second person to be found liable to deportation under the terms of the recently enacted McCarran Law.

Skoglund was charged with belonging to the Communist Party in the 1920's. No other evidence was submitted against him by immigration officials except the mere fact of membership in an organization allegedly advocating violent overthrow of the government.

Skoglund was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 and has long been known as an uncompromising opponent of its policies and ideas. He has been denounced many times over the past twenty years by the CP press and leadership for his activities within the union movement of the Northwest.

HONORABLE RECORD

Skoglund was born in Sweden and has been in the United States for 40 years. His record of service to the cause of labor is a long and honorable one. Skoglund has been a delegate from the Railway Carmen and the AFL Teamsters to the Minneapolis AFL Central Labor Union. During the Thirties in the organization drives spearheaded by the Minneapolis Truckdrivers, he helped build a powerful union movement in the Northwest. He was twice elected as Central Labor Union delegate to conventions of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and was president of Local 544 at the time of the first deportation action against him.

He was first arrested in 1941 in connection with the prosecutions of 18 officers of Teamsters Local 544 and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith "Gag" Act. Shortly before the arrests, the FBI, through an intermediary, offered Skoglund American citizenship and immunity from deportation if he would testify against his union and political associates.

Skoglund rejected this deal and subsequently served a 16-month

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CARL SKOGLUND

Wage-Freeze Threat Alarms Labor Unions

Despite Truman's announcement of new measures to "control" prices, no one expects the government to effectively halt the rising cost of living. The general skepticism has been strengthened by his first measures — an "honor" system for "voluntary" maintenance of government-fixed "fair standards" of prices and a specific directive to a single industry, auto, to rescind its most recent price boosts.

Most disturbed by the program of price-wage "stabilization" which the administration is developing are the labor unions. They are fully aware that the price "control" measures will not keep the cost of living down, but will provide a pretext for wage freezing.

How alarmed the unions are is indicated by the formation of a United Labor Policy Committee, including the top officials of the CIO, AFL, railways unions and machinists, which on Dec. 20 issued a joint declaration criticizing all phases of Truman's economic "stabilization" program, particularly the price "control" set-up, and opposing a wage freeze.

WANT ADJUSTMENTS

The united policy committee declared that "the wage stabilization procedure must permit the adjustment of wage rates to compensate for increases in the cost of living." Moreover, "Any wage stabilization policy must recognize existing collective bargaining agreements which themselves assure stability," such as those in "automobile and other industries where existing contracts provide for the orderly adjustment of wage rates."

The reference to the automobile industry indicates definite opposition to any moves by the government to nullify escalator-clause contracts like those in General Motors and most of the other auto companies.

This constitutes the first general recognition and acceptance by the union leaders of the sliding scale of wages program for protecting real wages against reduction by rising living costs.

The administration's action in selecting the auto price rise of Dec. 5 as the first target for a mandatory "roll-back" order was actuated by more than a desire to "hold the line" on prices. For such a purpose, it might better have selected the steel industry, whose prices have a more general effect on the whole price structure.

The auto industry, and GM in particular, was selected because

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1951, Fall In!

Rail Workers Strike Wins Some Concessions

A foretaste of the militarization of labor was given by the efforts of Truman, the U.S. Army and the federal courts to break the strike of 10,000 railway yardmen in 15 cities.

Despite Truman's efforts, however, the strike showed sufficient strength to win concessions. A settlement covering 300,000 rail workers gave a 23 cent an hour wage increase, plus a quarterly automatic increase of 1c. for every 1% in living costs. Working conditions were frozen for three years.

The yardmen's strike was an "outlaw" movement that spread from city to city. Though not endorsed by the Railway Brotherhoods' officials, it showed every sign of beating the rail corporations. It was not powerful enough, however, to withstand Truman, the rail barons, the union officials and the press, all strike-breaking in the name of the "national emergency."

UNION DEMANDS

The union first took its demand through the tortuous procedure of the Railway Labor Board with no results. Then a Truman-appointed "fact-finding" committee considered the dispute. This committee proposed a 40-hour week with an hourly wage increase of 18c. Since this would have meant a weekly cut of approximately $17 union negotiators turned it down. The ranks held out for the original demand. A strike was called for Aug. 28, 1950.

On Aug. 27, Truman "seized" the railroads, ordered that no strike take place and put the U.S. Army in charge.

PHONY "SEIZURE"

Army management of the railroads was a farce. Seven railway presidents were made "colonels" — only one had to be sworn in, six being "reserve colonels" from Truman's previous phony railroad seizure. These colonels ran the nation's railroads. Nothing was changed except that the workers had to take the corporations' directives as military commands and a strike was supposed to be the equivalent of a mutiny. The companies continued to rake in their usual phenomenal profits and pay dividends. The whole army-control fiction was to prevent the workers from striking.

Negotiations between union heads and the heads of the "seized" companies brought no results. The rail barons were no at all discommoded by army "seizure" and saw no reason to give in to the union while the government so accommodatingly protected them from any strike action.

When U.S. military reverses in Korea led to proposals for a wage-freeze, the overworked (56 to 68 hours a week) and underpaid yardmen reported off sick by the thousands and effectively shut down the railroads one after another.

The army "colonels" gave orders in vain. Three federal courts issued injunctions. Contempt of court proceedings were instituted by the Attorney General. The union was threatened with a huge fine such as had been levied on the United Mine Workers. Finally in his "national emergency" speech Truman called the strike illegal and a "danger to the security of our nation."

As commander-in-chief he ordered the yardmen back to work. The union leaders, responding to the flag waving, pressured the strikers. Under this barrage the strikers were forced to yield.

Answers Stop-the-War Plea With New Military Speed-up

By Art Preis

While heart-sick mothers, fathers and wives pleaded with him to withdraw their boys from Korea and stop the war now, Truman declared a "national emergency" to regiment the nation for "full mobilization" and speed up military preparations tnat will lead to global warfare and the slaughter of millions of American youth.

In his radio speech on the "grave danger" facing the country because of the disastrous outcome of his Korean "police action," Truman made his usual number of ritualistic references to "peace." But his tone and his program spoke otherwise. They bristled with war.

He proclaimed, in effect, the program of "force to the limit." He demanded that the American people submit to a harsh austerity regime in a garrison state. He decreed that millions more of America's youth be dragooned into the armed forces within the next year. And he placed formal control of the mobilization program directly in the hands of Big Business by naming the head of one of the biggest anti-labor corporations as the country's economic "czar."

MAJOR TURNING POINT

The reinstatement of Truman's war powers and his decree of a "national emergency" to impose "full mobilization" were not his decision alone. American imperialism is in a grave political crisis, nationally and internationally, as a result of the Korean debacle and the powerful challenge it has met from the revolutionary Asian masses. To meet this crisis, the chief capitalist circles, who are the real government behind the scenes, have clearly made a decision to prepare the country for total war.

All the leading capitalist political elements are banding together. Just before Truman spoke Thomas E. Dewey, leader of one faction of the Republicans, declared for "total mobilization" in a speech that was cleared in advance through the White House and State Department. Taft, leader of the Republican opposition in Congress, was invited to the White House for the first time and there conferred with Truman. The entire capitalist press hailed Truman's decree and called for "national unity" and an end to "politics as usual."

This is a major turning point in the preparations of U.S. imperialism for world control. From now on into an indefinite future, the country will be geared for war and everything will be sacrificed for the military machine, Truman made clear. He demanded a "very rapid speed-up" in the production and the accumulation of arms and military equipment and the huge expansion of a conscript army "as soon as possible." His goal, he stated, is "to make possible a very rapid expansion to full mobilization if that becomes necessary."

The conscript armed forces will be increased to 3½ million within six months, he announced. Within one year production of military planes is to be expanded five times and other war equipment output in proportion. These, he explained in a cynical understatement, "will require us to make a lot of changes in our ordinary ways of doing things."

FIRST BIG CHANGE

And the first big change will be in the living standards of the American workers.

"We shall have to cut back on many lines of civilian production," he said. "Workers will be called upon to work more hours. More women, and more young people and older workers will be needed. . . A defense effort of the size we must now undertake will inevitably push up prices. . . We've increased taxes. . . Still further taxes will be needed . . . reduce the non-military expenditures in the new federal budget to the minimum. . ." Behind these broad phrases is concealed the grim reality of the immediate future ordained by the war-crazed American plutocracy.

The younger workers will be drained off by the draft. The too-young and too-old and the women will be chained to the production line and driven at top speed for long hours. The necessities of life

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11th Hour Massacres by Rhee Govt.

American and British troops in Korea are horrified by the Syngman Rhee regime's butchery of the Korean people.

Mass executions of men, women and children have been going on in Seoul ever since MacArthur brought Rhee back to his former capital. While the executions of the first weeks in recaptured Seoul were reported, the papers soon dropped that subject, so embarrassing for official U.S. propaganda.

After the Yalu River defeat, U.S. and British troops were **bivouacked in Seoul itself, some** of them near Execution Hill. Here they got first hand evidence of the unspeakable savagery of the South Korean government against political "suspects." Aged men, women with babes in arms and young children were roped together and executed by firing squads or by machine guns.

When the troops began to protest and correspondents began to get interested in the mass executions the firing squads made their victims lie down in the mass graves and then shot them. The last reported executions were "out of bounds" for U.S. and British troops encamped nearby, and military police surrounded the place of execution, keeping all GIs away.

PRISONS BULGING

One apologist for the government explained to GIs that the prisons were so overcrowded with "communists" that the only solution was mass execution.

The situation is believed to be even worse in other parts of South Korea. The presence of newspaper correspondents in Seoul has forced the authorities there to put on their most "democratic" manners.

The **N. Y. Herald Tribune** let slip in its early edition of Dec. 13 a report from London that British troops were disgusted "because they had passed through villages where the whole population is being bumped off by Korean police." This was quickly cut out of later editions.

On Dec. 21 British troops broke up the execution of 40 prisoners, saving 17, including a young woman. Soldiers investigating the mass graves after departure of the firing squads told of finding one of the victims buried though not yet dead.

CLUE TO SPEEDUP

The South Korean Minister of Home Affairs revealed that 55,000 "suspects" had been imprisoned in Seoul since its recapture. Charles Grutzner, **N. Y. Times** correspondent, described one of the Seoul prisons where suspects were locked "by twenty-fours into ten foot square prison cells." Twelve hundred of the prisoners were women and about one-fourth of these had small children with them.

In a Dec. 5 dispatch Grutzner gives a clue to the eleventh-hour speedup of executions in Seoul, which, it is believed, will soon be taken by the Chinese and North Korean armies. He points out that those likely to be accused of "collaboration" with the U.S. fear being "fingered" by the "families of the thousands who were jailed by the Rhee government." Thus the officials are trying to hide their crimes by murdering possible witnesses.

This is the regime for which American boys have been sent to die. And all in the name of defending "democracy" against totalitarianism.

Congress Doesn't Forget the GIs

Congress can't be accused of forgetting the American GIs in Korea. Just to show what they mean when they say, "Nothing's too good for our boys in the foxholes," the federal legislators have enacted a new bill.

On Dec. 20, the Senate passed and sent to the White House a bill giving members of the armed forces in the Korean battle zone — more time to file returns and pay income taxes. They will get 180 days after returning to the U.S. or discharge from a hospital to file — and pay up.

Whose Emergency?

An Editorial

What is this "national emergency" which demands that the American people submit to "austerity" and regimentation under a "garrison" regime? What is this "grave danger" that Truman says must be met by "full mobilization" and the exercise of his dictatorial war-time powers?

Certainly the American people don't believe that this country is threatened by the Koreans or the Chinese who are fighting 8,000 miles away against an invading U.S. army on their own territory or near their own border.

This "national emergency" is the reaction of the White House and the ruling capitalist circles to the fact that Truman's armed intervention in the Korean civil war — initiated without the consultation of Congress or consent of the people — has led to a military disaster.

This defeat has brought about a crisis in Truman's policies and not a "national emergency" in which this country is threatened by outside foes.

Their Plans Have Been Upset

American imperialism has suffered a damaging blow in the Far East and its political prestige has fallen to a low point throughout the world. It has met an unexpected and serious military and political defeat that has thrown its plans awry. Its scheme for a "cheap" conquest in Asia has been shattered against a formidable obstacle it did not foresee: the tremendous power of the Asian revolution. The oppressed peoples whom they insulted as "gooks" have proved to be no push-overs. This was not in Washington's calculation.

It is going to cost a lot more than American capitalism planned to take over the world — or even that poverty-stricken portion of it in the Far East. It must either abandon the scheme or speed up and expand tremendously its military preparations. And this means it must put the squeeze on the American people in earnest.

But that is where the hitch comes in. The American people, no less than the masses of Europe and Asia, are reluctant to fall in line. They don't feel threatened by anything except the danger of the catastrophic war, inflation and dictatorship that the actions of Washington are leading to. The "national emergency" that Truman's proclamation is designed to overcome is the popular opposition to the war plans.

"Inertia, Defeatism, Objection, Escapism"

Walter Lippman complains in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune that "there is today a crisis of leadership . . . marked by an increasing separation between public policy and popular sentiment. The rising tide of isolationism in the United States is the counterpart of the profound and widespread inertia, defeatism, conscientious objection and escapism on the Continent of Europe."

This "isolationism" and "defeatism" are terms which mirror the fact that the people everywhere are against the imperialist drive toward world war. They are against militarism. They want the American troops pulled out of Korea right away. They want the war in the Far East to be stopped now — and they're not worried about saving Washington's "prestige" in the process.

This is indeed a "grave danger" — to the war plans of the imperialists. This is THEIR crisis which they represent as the crisis of the nation. And this is THEIR "national emergency" which they are attempting to overcome by whipping the people into line with threats, decrees and compulsion.

Phila. Meeting Honors Memory of Karl Kuehn

By G. Clement

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 19 — **The family, friends and comrades of Karl Keuhn met to pay him their last respects before his cremation last Tuesday. Karl, a lifelong fighter in the socialist movement, had been stricken by a heart attack and died in the West Jersey Hospital.**

Telegrams of sympathy for Rose, his wife, came from friends throughout the country. V. R. Dunne, with whom Karl was associated for long years in the Minneapolis labor movement, speaking for the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, wired: "The tragic news of Karl's death shocks every comrade. Those of us who knew him feel a deep personal loss." From Reading friends said: "The work, loyalty, and steadfastness of Karl shall never be forgotten."

The St. Paul Branch of the SWP said: "We mourn the loss of our lifelong friend and comrade. The workers' movement has lost an energetic and selfless fighter for its cause. Let our grief be tempered by the realization that Karl lived a useful and honorable life."

AT SERVICES

At the services, William F. Warde, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party to which Karl had belonged since 1934, pointed out that among those traits for which we will remember Karl most, was his careful planning of everything he undertook.

"This careful devotion to organization was equalled only by his fearlessness and tenacity in carrying out his ideas," said Warde. "We promise to Karl that our movement will continue the plan which he has helped make, with the same tenacity and fearlessness which he himself showed."

On Friday night the Philadelphia Branch of the SWP held a memorial meeting in honor of Comrade Kuehn. In attendance were many of those who had known and worked with Karl during the eight years he lived here. Friends from Local 103, IUE - CIO, of which Karl was an active member, and many of those who knew and worked with him in the local NAACP were present.

Irvin Marnin, in opening the meeting, spoke briefly on the meaning of Karl's life and role in the socialist movement. "Karl Kuehn was a conscious part of the workers' vanguard, helping to guide mankind to its future. In this lies both his greatness and his immortality, and it is for this that we honor him tonight."

Michael Bartell spoke briefly in behalf of the SWP National Committee and New York Local, paying tribute to Karl's forthrightness in speaking the truth and opposing World War II, for which he was singled out by the capitalist politicians and imprisoned after being convicted under the Smith Act in the Minneapolis trial of 1941.

DEVOTED WHOLE LIFE

The main speaker of the meeting was Max Geldman, Philadelphia SWP organizer and coworker with Karl for many years in Minneapolis. Comrade Geldman said that it was indeed difficult to think of Karl whose activity and selfless devotion had so long permeated our movement as now gone from us. He then spoke of Karl's life, recalling how in the depths of the depression Karl had been attracted to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, and how from that moment forward his entire life had been devoted to the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

"From then on," he said. "Karl never wavered. Both his friends and his enemies knew him for what he was; a friend to all the oppressed, a ruthless enemy of all those who were responsible for the degradation of humanity."

Unemployed for almost a year before his death, Karl was forced to dip heavily into his savings, and was able to leave little beyond the heritage of his struggle. As a result, his friends in Philadelphia have raised over $150 to help cover the expenses entailed by his illness and death.

Police State Law Rapped at Meeting Of Calif. Students

By Lillian Russell

BERKELEY, Calif., Dec. 15 — **Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party spokesman and militant maritime union leader, last week addressed a group of students from the University of California on the McCarran - Kilgore Law. The meeting, which took place at Barrington Hall, one of the student co-ops, was originally scheduled as a debate. But, as Lovell stated, it was impossible to find anyone who would defend this vile piece of legislation.**

After analyzing different aspects of the bill in some detail Lovell went back to the history of the U.S. to show how similar oppressive measures — the Stamp Act, the Fugitive Slave Act., etc — had been fought and defeated in the past.

Following the speech there was a lively discussion period in which various aspects of the world situation were taken up, and questions were raised about practical steps students could take in the fight against the new police-state law.

Lovell answered that you cannot get rid of a law like this by quietly submitting to it. He warned that the courts cannot be relied on in this struggle, again citing historical evidence to prove his point.

The real answer lies in the mass action of all the people, he declared. He urged the students to hold more meetings of this kind and to acquaint other students, and their teachers too, with the dangers that the law presents to their interests.

Chicago University Students Back Campus Workers' Strike

CHICAGO, Dec. 18 — The University of Chicago power plants, cafeterias, bookstores, classrooms and dormitory buildings were picketed this week by janitors and maintenance men in a strike called to win higher wages.

The pickets carried signs reading, "Billions for buildings and nothing for wages."

The strike was called Dec. 6 after negotiations between the University of Chicago Council, AFL, and the university administration broke up when university representatives walked out of the conference.

The union originally presented its demands last July, asking for "wage rate increases of 17.5% to bring University of Chicago rates up to the prevailing scale in the Chicago area, and to offset increased living costs."

UNION-BUSTING AIM

In reply, university vice-president Cunningham proposed "a 5c. per hour flat increase and other benefits which would cost the university $12,000 a year." It became clear when the university representatives walked out of negotiations, that this reputedly liberal institution was out to break the union. University officials are aware that an increase won by the maintenance workers (only a small part of the non-academic employees of the university) would encourage the CIO office and hospital workers to fight to improve their conditions.

Vice-President Cunningham, in his effort to bust the strike, has accused the union of imperiling lives of hospital patients, although the union has not stopped delivery of food supplies to the hospitals, the Orthogenic Childrens' school, government projects and the Argonne National Laboratories.

The administration employs scabs to work the power plant. These scabs are living at the university International House and enter the power plant through a connecting tunnel. Tenth grade pupils at the junior high school run by the university are told it is their patriotic duty to remain after school and clean classrooms.

In contrast to the strikebreaking administration, the students are for the most part in sympathy with the strikers. When a supervisory employee attempted to drive a truck through a picket line, under police escort, a student protested, calling the cops' attention to a city statute prohibiting trucks from carrying inflammables, such as the drums of oil on the truck, without proper identification. The student demanded the cops arrest the driver. When the police refused to carry out the law, the pickets began to write down police badge numbers.

The cops seized the paper and tore it up, and threatened the pickets with jail.

Fraternities have offered to make their commissaries available to students in domitories who usually eat at university cafeterias. The student assembly has listed non-university restaurants with reasonable prices.

"OPEN THE BOOKS"

Large subsidies by government and private concerns plus lucrative endowments such as those given by the Rockefellers, have made the University of Chicago a "money" school. Yet it has expensive tuition rates, and pleads poverty and inability to meet modest union demands.

A demand by the union that the University "open its books," revealing all its endowments and subsidies, would help puncture the claim that they cannot pay a living wage for the maintenance and upkeep of buildings and grounds.

SKOGLUND DEPORTATION ORDER WILL BE FOUGHT IN COURTS

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sentence in federal prison as one of the first victims of the thought-control Smith Act.

Now he has become one of the first victims of the no less undemocratic and unconstitutional McCarran Act. In its latest move the Immigration Department dropped its original charges against Skoglund of belonging to the Socialist Workers Party and is proceeding against him under the McCarran Act solely on the ground of his former admitted membership in the Communist Party.

Skoglund's deportation order is now subject to review by the higher immigration authorities in Washington.

George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is handling Skoglund's defense, said today:

"What an appalling commentary it is on the condition of civil liberties in the United States that the anniversary of the Bill of Rights should be marked by invoking an unconstitutional law to deport a labor leader for his political beliefs and his union activities. It is equally ironic that the government should try to expel him for membership in a party which expelled him 22 years ago for disagreement with its policies and ideas.

A DECISIVE TEST

"This case should open the eyes of many people to the viciousness of the immigration provisions of the McCarran Act. We regard it as a decisive test of the democratic rights of foreign-born Americans violated by that Act and intend to carry Skoglund's fight to remain in this country through all administrative and legal channels, up to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary."

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 8

The Solution of the National Question

By Ernest Germain

In no other country of Europe was the national question a stronger obstacle on the road of the proletarian revolution than in Yugoslavia. Centuries of national oppression had bred extreme national sensitiveness among the various nationalities composing the multi-national state of Yugoslavia, created by the Versailles Treaty. That state, in its turn, was administered by the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie in a way to grossly exacerbate the contradictions and hatreds between its component nationalities.

The war and the subsequent foreign imperialist occupation in 1941, brought into the open in its most savage form the accumulated national hatred in that country. Pavelich's Ustachi murdered by the tens of thousands the Serbian minority living on Croatian soil, and Mikhailovich's Chetnik and Nedich reciprocated in areas under their control. Religious antagonism combined with national hatred in an especially brutal way. Forced conversions of Serbian peasants to Catholicism in Croatia, and forced conversions of Croatian peasants to the Greek Orthodox Church in Serbia were marked by thousands of innocent victims. The "national question" had meant, by 1944, a sea of blood and corpses for the Yugoslav peoples.

Nor was this national question confined to the rivalries between the exploiting and oppressing circles of the "big" nationalities. Pre-war Yugoslavia was known as the "Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes," showing clearly enough how ill the "minor nationalities" had fared: the Bosnians, the Montenegrins the Macedonians and others. The sizable Islam minority of 1.5 million was deprived of religious rights even by the official constitution. The Macedonians were most brutally persecuted, with no right to speak their own language, with no opportunity of developing their own cultural life; writing a poem in a tentative Macedonian alphabet was considered a "subversive activity."

And serving as a background to these injections of barbarism in prewar Yugoslavia was the unequal economic development of the various parts of the country. Slovenia, for many centuries a part of the Habsburg empire, had been thoroughly industrialized as early as the 19th Century, and at least some industrial centers had also been created in Croatia under the Austro - Hungarian regime. Independent Serbia, on the other hand had seen the beginnings of modern capitalist enterprise, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, not to mention Montenegro and Macedonia, still had many semifeudal remnants in their economy. While, superficially, Western capitalist civilization had been assimilated in the big urban centers of Western Yugoslavia and in Belgrade, half of the prewar population of the country continued to live under truly Asian conditions, economically as well as culturally.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTION

One of the major and most serious contributions to Marxism by the Yugoslav Communist Party — and each victorious proletarian revolution will enrich the Marxist heritage of the world working class — is its bold grasp of the economic foundation for a real and durable solution of the national question. Solving the national question does not mean simply giving each separate national group the right to be taught and administered in its own language — or "cultural autonomy," federative structure of the Republic, etc.

It means also the creation of the economic premises for a genuine **equality** among these nationalities. That is to say, fraternal help by the more advanced nationalities to the more backward ones, in order to enable them as quickly as possible to acquire the foundations of modern industry and civilization. It is precisely because the practice of the Yugoslav Communist Party has been based on this principle, that its leaders and rank and file resented all the more bitterly the sharply different treatment they themselves received at the hands of the Russian Stalinists on the international field ("relations between socialist countries").

UNLIKE STALINISM

There is nothing, either in the political structure of the country or in the objectives of the Five-Year Plan, which is comparable with the way in which the Stalinists have "solved" the national question, be it in the USSR (Great - Russian nationalism) or in Czechoslovakia (Czech nationalism). The Yugoslav Communists have fought violently against every element of Pan-Serb chauvinism in the state apparatus, and they continue this struggle relentlessly. This is the very basis of the existence of their state, and it is a progressive one! In the Political Bureau of the YCP there is a very careful representation of most nationalities (Djilas is Montenegrin; Kardelj and Kidric are Slovenians; Tito is Croatian; Pijade, Rankovic and Leskovic, Serbians, etc.).

The political autonomy of each of the six Federal Republics is quite real; their governments are not "Belgrade satraps," but extremely jealous of their special rights, and these have been increasing in the two years since the break with the Kremlin. This same autonomy also holds for the six different Communist Parties in the country. Each has its own small apparatus, its own papers and its own theoretical monthly, specializing in specific problems of political and theoretical nature. Each also has a physiognomy of its own, determined by specific social environment and tradition.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

The Yugoslav way of solving the national question is adequately indicated by some economic statistics. In 1949, i.e., after several years of economic help by the "advanced" Republics to the backward ones, annual **per capita** income was still 22,424 dinars in Slovenia, 16,102 dinars in Croatia, 14,409 in Serbia, 9,642 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 9,635 in Macedonia and 6,820 in Montenegro. For 1950, the following increases are planned: 15.1% for Montenegro, 13.9% for Bosnia - Herzegovina, 10.3% for Macedonia, 9.6% for Slovenia, 4.8% for Croatia and 4.7% for Serbia.

Economic investments — separate and apart from military investments, or investments out of cooperative or private funds — will be **per capita** in 1950 (with the 1949 level equal to 100): 138 in Macedonia, 132.3 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 120.3 in Montenegro, 107.6 in Serbia, 83 in Croatia and 72.2 in Slovenia. While annual accumulation **per capita** in 1950 will be 2,400 dinars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2,800 dinars in Macedonia and 1,950 dinars in Montenegro, the **per capita** investment in these republics will be 4,400 dinars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and 3,800 dinars in Macedonia and Montenegro, indicating clearly the help these Republics will receive from other and more prosperous parts of the country.

As for various **minor nationalities** that inhabit Yugoslavia — the Italians of the Istria peninsula in Slovenia; the Czech, Hungarian and Rumanian minorities of the autonomous territory of Voivodina and in the Bachka and Banat; the Albanian minority of the autonomous territory of Kossovo-Metohia — there is complete cultural freedom for all of them. They have their own schools, their own newspapers, their own clubs; they are administered in their own languages and no attempt whatsoever is made to denationalize them. Anyone who knows the tragic tradition existing in that respect in any Balkan country, and what is now happening to foreign minorities in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania will easily understand what a progressive achievement this solution of the national question in Yugoslavia represents.

THE GERMAN MINORITY

There is one aspect of the national question in Yugoslavia which requires special treatment — the question of the German minority in that country. Before the war, there lived in Yugoslavia a German group of nearly 200,000 persons, mostly well-to-do peasants in the Voivodina and Northern Slovenia and merchants in the big cities, especially of Slovenia. When the war broke out in Yugoslavia, the Nazis annexed to the Third Reich a part of Slovenia around Maribor and partly exterminated the Slav population there. They drafted the whole German adult male population of the Voivodina and Slovenia into the German army, which fought on the spot the most sanguinary war of extermination against the Partisans known in any European country.

In this war, the Partisans took an internationalist attitude; they tried to build up Italian and German Partisan groups, and many hundreds of German soldiers went over to their side. There are today several public monuments in Yugoslavia erected to the memory of German soldiers who performed heroic deeds in the ranks of the Yugoslav Partisans. One of the finest literary short stories written since 1945 concerns Harry Schichter, the first German soldier to pass over to the camp of the partisans at the beginning of the insurrection. The drama, **Red Soldiers of Cattaro**, commemorating the revolutionary movement of Austrian seamen in 1918, has been played every year in Yugoslavia since 1945. This indicates that the CPY never completely adopted the Stalinist line of condemning the German people as such, as a "reactionary mass."

But toward the end of the war, the attitude of the non-communist Partisans toward the German soldiers toughened up considerably. For the crimes the Nazis had committed in Yugoslavia, revenge was demanded. While the Partisan command prevented any lynching of German PW's such as happened in Poland or Czecohslovakia, it did succumb to the nationalist pressure in relation to the German minority of the Voivodina. Most of the well-to-do peasants had fled anyhow when the Partisans approached. Of those who remained, most were driven out of the country with their families, and only a small nucleus has been left, which is today being restored to its right as an autonomous national group

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE

The CPY quickly reacted and changed its attitude toward the German minority. By 1947, efforts were undertaken to bring German skilled workers and technicians back into the country. Many of them came, as did Germans who had never been in the country before. They were then treated in a very privileged way and given much higher salaries — like all foreign specialists — than any Yugoslav receives. But this of course does not justify the great mistakes made in 1945 which, like many others, were part of the then still dominant Stalinist background and education of the CPY.

(Next Week: Foreign Policy)

Korean Casualty

This wounded GI is one of thousands evacuated from North Korea. Here he is lifted gently into a helicopter for the long ride home. That's the ride that all the troops in Korea want — except that they want to do it in one piece. And that's what growing numbers of their friends and relatives at home are demanding.

MICH. MINORITY PARTIES DEPRIVED OF TRUE VOTE

By David Lands

DETROIT — The Wayne County clerk has finally released figures which are supposed to represent the total vote gotten by the minority parties in Wayne County. Socialist Workers Party candidates are credited with from 374 votes for Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor, to 861 votes for Larry Dolinski, candidate for Attorney General.

The Socialist Labor Party candidates, appearing as the first party with a socialist name on the ballot, received from 682 votes for Governor to 1,057 for Attorney General. The Stalinist-dominated Progressive Party, which did not contest the major state posts, received 3,897 votes for Secretary of State, 4,143 for Attorney General.

These figures cannot represent a true count. It is impossible under the present ballot-counting system in Michigan for minority parties to learn their actual vote. The entire system is antiquated and staffed by either Republican or Democratic appointees and jobholders. When they get through stealing votes for their machines, there is bound to be very little left for minority parties.

There were thousands of so-called "honest mistakes" and "errors of ignorance" in the counting of the close race for Governor. In the statewide recount that began around this contest, Republicans and Democrats were haggling over every vote. If both Democrats and Republicans feel they need a battery of watchers for every ballot cast, it is easy to imagine the outrageous fraud which the minority parties are subjected to at the hands of the major parties. A small idea of how wide-spread such fraud is in Michigan was given by Hub M. George's article in the Dec. 11 **Detroit Free Press**: "The 1,900,000 Michigan voters make fewer errors at the polls than the 9,500 election officials who count their votes, the recount shows. . . In addition to the shortage of nearly 8,000 votes turned up in the official canvass, three similar lapses have been uncovered in the recount. . . If the ratio of these lost votes continues through all 1,748 districts, it may add up to 2,000 or 2,500 for Wayne, in addition to the 8,000 in errors caught by the Canvassing Board."

Incumbent Governor G. Mennen Williams, whose re-election is now conceded by the GOP, was the only one of the entire state-wide Democratic slate to make a showing. The reason is clear. Williams was the only candidate closely associated in the mind of the Michigan electorate with the unions. It was he who was tagged as a "socialist captive" of the CIO.

The fact that he alone of the Democrats came in ahead demonstrates what could have been accomplished in 1950 by an independent labor ticket, backed up by a bold campaign and a genuine program representing the working people in the cities and on the farms. This is the lesson to drive home in Michigan between now and '52.

THE MILITANT ARMY

As reported in the current issue of **Fourth International**, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, the delegates at the 14th Convention of the Socialist Workers Party included in their discussion the problem of increasing the circulation of socialist literature.

James P. Cannon, summing up the general sentiment, declared that increasing the circle of readers of socialist literature is a No. 1 task for all who believe in the socialist future of mankind. We must "rediscover" the socialist press, he said, and "restore it to its rightful place at the head of socialist activities."

During the convention a number of literature agents from various cities met to discuss more concretely what could be done to step up sales of socialist pamphlets and books and to increase the circulation of **The Militant** and **Fourth International**.

The main problem, everyone agreed, was how to revive the spirit that dominated socialists in the old days, the crusading spirit that took the distribution of socialist literature as the central task in times like ours.

Old timers in the movement, it was felt, must explain and show by example how important the socialist press is in building the socialist movement. The new generation must deliberately set out to learn the technique of selling papers, magazines and pamphlets and of getting subscriptions, as one of the basic essentials of their personal education as socialists.

It was felt that it would be a big step forward if the various branches of the Socialist Workers Party would take this up in the most conscious way and move up to first place on the agenda the whole question of maintaining and expanding circulation of literature.

A number of fruitful specific suggestions were made by literature agents which we hope to take up in coming issues.

* * *

One of the first responses to this discussion came from the **Newark** branch. As we reported last week, the comrades there are making a thorough canvass for renewals to **The Militant. Seattle**, too, we learn is getting down to work on this. And Literature **Agent P. S. of Minneapolis** writes, "We have begun our renewal campaign and we are off to a good start." As evidence she enclosed a number of one-year renewals.

P. S. also mentions that some **Militants** had accumulated on the shelf in the Minneapolis headquarters. The comrades decided that better use could be made of this organizer of the socialist movement than using it as a dust collector, so they bought up the available copies for distribution and resale. Other literature agents might make a memo of this.

* * *

On renewing his subscription, **J. H. of Philadelphia** wrote: "Last few issues have been particularly excellent. The sort of material that keeps a guy going."

* * *

Dolores R. of Mexico happened to see a copy of **The Militant** on a stand at one of the busiest corners in Mexico City. She asked us to send her a few more sample copies and then wrote: "I can frankly say that I have enjoyed immensely reading them, and found this newspaper very impressive and educational in the way of the political situation of the world today in a world full of turmoil and agitation as well as of grave forebodings."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1842.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-960.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND—Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun., 9 P.M.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6207.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n. Rm 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—123 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—Hq.: 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.

HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953, or call TEmplebar 2-8785.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

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TROTSKY

"The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades, of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings. A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer. But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat."

— Leon Trotsky, Manifesto on the War, 1940.

LENIN

Our Confidence in the Future

1950 served warning to the American working class that the capitalist system has no other perspective than war. Undeclared wars, limited wars, and gigantic steps toward total war thinly disguised as measures for preserving peace—these are what it really has to offer.

This perspective, we are certain, is abhorrent to most of the American people, who have no investments or markets to safeguard abroad, no reason to protect the dictatorships of Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai, and no wish to interfere with the right of other peoples to live under systems of their own choice.

We are certain also that most Americans would decisively reject this perspective, as we do, if they saw a suitable alternative. And make no mistake about it, large numbers are looking around for an alternative. That was one of the main characteristics of the recent election, in which many voters exhibited a "political homelessness" and a groping search for answers to the burning questions of the day that were not provided by either of the capitalist parties.

The alternative they will find—and sooner than its enemies and even some of its friends realize—is socialism. By replacing the capitalist system with a society based on production for use, mankind will simultaneously remove the root causes of imperialist war, reaction, poverty, discrimination and enter an era as superior to capitalism as capitalism was to the feudalism that it replaced.

The American working people are going to find their way to socialism not through books but through the most effective of all schools for mass education —experience. The depression of the Thirties taught workers the need to organize independently on the economic field because without their own unions they remained at the mercy of the "free enterprise" system and were unable even to feed their children properly. Once they learned this lesson from experience they moved with rocket speed and in a few short years created the most powerful union movement in the world.

Now, as we enter 1951, they are about to undergo new experiences which will teach them the need to organize independently on the political field with a view to taking political power away from the capitalist class. The grim years immediately before us are going to expose the cynical lie that vast preparations for war will lead to peace; they are going to drive home the lesson that the price to be paid for the maintenance of capitalism is permanent militarization, loss of civil liberties, lower living standards and the most horrible destruction of life and productive capacity history has ever known.

We are supremely confident that the American working class will assimilate these lessons and take the proper measures to change the situation with the same speed and power it has shown in the past. We are equally confident that the monopolists and brass hats, who now seem so securely in the saddle, will not be able for long to withstand the might and the militancy of an American labor movement conscious of its aims and aware of its responsibilities to the peace-loving people of this country and the entire world.

Some critics contend that our revolutionary optimism is based on mystical faith. But that is not true. Our confidence in the future is derived from an understanding of the class struggle, which cannot be erased by proclamations of "emergency" or even war, and of the bankruptcy of a capitalist system already rattling in its death agony. The only realists today are those whose policies and activities are directed toward the victory of socialism in our time.

1950--A Year of World Crisis

Police-State Moves at Home Mark Preparations for War

By James Walcott

In 1950 the "land of the free" was rapidly on the road to becoming the home of the slave. By forced marches, the U.S. ruling class moved toward a military-police dictatorship. The drive towards full-scale war required the militarization and suppression of the rights and privileges of the people.

With the aid of subservient labor bureaucrats, the government tightened its control of the unions. Strikes were few and far between, and when they broke out, as on the railroads, they met the full force of the capitalist government's repressive machinery, including military seizure.

The youth of 1950 were growing up in the harsh conditions of ideological terror and militarization. Dwight D. Eisenhower laid the future out in typical brass hat style to 600 freshmen at Columbia University in a recent speech:

"MOST OF YOUR LIFE"

"A stark and bleak future faces the world today. It is nothing but a dream to think you are going to live in a carefree world where everything will be all right. At the very, very best, gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."

A foretaste of things to come was given the conscripted youth who were shipped to the bloody battlegrounds of Korea. Instead of federal aid to education, they were given death in a foreign war.

The Bill of Rights was torn to shreds in the halls of Congress as Democrats and Republicans ganged up to enact the McCarran-Kilgore registration and concentration-camp law. Truman, who posed as an opponent of the measure, is now enforcing it against opponents of his war plans with a ferocity that none of its sponsors could surpass.

Witch-hunting was incorporated into the "American way of life." Private redbaiting agencies like Counterattack were allowed to impose an insidious censorship over radio, television and motion pictures. While FEPC legislation was again sidetracked, Negroes were openly victimized by police brutality in one city after another.

RAGING WITCH-HUNT

The FBI, U.S. counterpart of the Nazi thought-police, was given a free hand, strengthened by additional funds, and turned loose not only on government workers, but workers in private industry. The "loyalty" purge, which had victimized thousands of government employees including James Kutcher, the legless veteran whose case is now in the federal courts, penetrated the schools and universities, and was supplemented by "dangerous thoughts" legislation in several states.

Alien workers were hounded and ordered deported because of their beliefs and "associations." Spy trials helped to create an atmosphere of terror. Stoolpigeons like Louis F. Budenz came into their own as "honored citizens."

The union leadership, doing its part to destroy the remnants of democratic rights, continued the purge of the unions, aiding the drive to deprive workers of their right to work because of their political views.

A potent new force made its rise on the American scene — "McCarthyism." The sinister, fascist-like elements associated with it were emboldened by the Democratic-launched witchhunts and they did not hesitate to direct their smears at Democrats as well as the "reds."

SWOLLEN WAR BUDGET

Behind this campaign of terror is the capitalist need to paralyze, in advance, any opposition to the heavy consequences of a war economy.

In 1940-41, a period of feverish war preparation, the total government budget was under $14 billion. In 1942-43 this climbed to $34 billions. The average budget during World War II was under $70 billion. But the 1950 war budget alone is $40 billion out of a total government appropriation of $75 billion.

Thus, the war budget alone in 1950 was almost three times as big as the total budget in 1940-41.

Truman pointed out in his latest request for additional military funds that it was "not a war budget. That would obviously require more money." Where will the additional funds come from? Already a drastic new tax on low incomes has been enacted. But this is not enough.

"Peacetime luxuries" will be eliminated. Appropriations for housing, pensions, social security of all kinds will be cut. The "Fair Deal" promises to fight for health insurance and other benefits for the low-income groups have been shelved indefinitely.

Draconian taxes on workers' wages, increased speed-up, lengthening of the work week, regimentation of labor, freezing workers to low-income jobs — that is what the 1950 war against civil and labor rights was preparing for.

If the American workers protest that these heavy sacrifices place the burden of war on their shoulders, while the big corporations continue to amass ever greater profits, they will be told, "Don't forget there is a McCarran-Kilgore law! Shut up or go to jail."

The Defense Production Act passed last summer is specially designed to put the burden of war on the workers. The law makes it mandatory to freeze wages wherever price "ceilings" are imposed. This seemingly "equal" treatment of wages and prices hides the fact while employers are in a position to police wages, workers are not allowed to police prices.

The undeclared war against the Korean people was accompanied by an undeclared war on the workers. 1950 was only the beginning. The workers must be warned: 1951 will see this war on the home front stepped up, as U.S. imperialism moves rapidly toward World War III.

Korean War Revealed Scope Of Asian Fight for Freedom

By Joseph Andrews

In June 1950 U.S. imperialism decided to teach the revolutionary masses of Asia a quick lesson by a show of force in Korea.

But as 1950 draws to a close U.S. intervention in the Korea civil war is ending in disaster.

Truman launched the undeclared Korean war with the support of the whole U.S. ruling class and all the labor and liberal flunkeys of capitalism. Their sad experience with the Chiang Kai-shek regime taught them nothing. All that was needed, they thought, was a "white man's" army to frighten the Koreans and the rest of Asia into submission.

But the "police action" became a large-scale war from the very start. The imperialists had underestimated their foe. The arrogant and ambitious MacArthur was confronted by a Korean army of great strategic and tactical skill, backed by an entire people in revolt.

"The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any longer," James P. Cannon wrote in a letter to Truman and Congress (Militant, July 31). "The impoverished and exploited masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors. This is the 'secret weapon' of the Koreans."

HEAVY CASUALTIES

American troops gained ground only by paying a terrible price. U.S. generals complained about the "infiltration tactics" of the Koreans, the guerrilla attacks from the rear, the "treachery" of the civilians. The "police action" became one of the bloodiest orgies of mass killing in imperialist history. But the Korean people fought on.

After initial reverses, MacArthur launched an all-out offensive at a cost of thousands of U.S. troops, wholesale destruction of Korean cities, towns and villages, and the slaughter of over a million Koreans. The U.S. pushed past the 38th parallel to the borders of China.

But the Mao Tse-tung regime would not allow an imperialist army to be poised within striking distance of the Yalu power dams and plants, a constant threat to China as a whole. The Chinese people had every reason to fear that the UN promises that their interests "would be protected" were just a cover for a plan by U.S. imperialism to smash through into China. American efforts to stake out a preserve in China through the victory of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek had been defeated only by a full-scale civil war.

When confronted with the terrifying might of the Chinese armies, backed by 450 million people, the U.S. imperialists grew sick at heart. As the American troops were pushed back toward the sea, split up, cut to pieces, the real situation in Asia became clear.

The heavy price paid for the "calculated risk" in Korea, a tiny outpost on the vast Asian continent, gave them a preview of what it would cost to subjugate the unfolding Asian revolution.

India's Prime Minister Nehru, hiding his support of imperialism behind gestures for peace, explained to the imperialists that "the common features of Asia today are a reaction to the previous colonial regimes, a resurgent nationalism, agrarian movements, a desire to get rid of our economic backwardness and a passionate urge for freedom."

Nehru was expressing the fiery hatred of India's hundreds of millions for imperialism and imperialist war. The situation was actually much more critical and explosive than his words indicated. The whole fabric of colonialism had been torn apart during and after World War II. The revolutionary upheaval of the masses of India had thrown off a large part of the yoke of British imperialism. Efforts of the imperialists to retain their hold in Indonesia and Burma met with no success, and the tide against them was mounting steadily in Indo-China and Malaya.

OF LITTLE AVAIL

U.S. imperialism poured arms and gold into Indo-China, backed French imperialism to the limit, but the Viet Minh armies still advanced. The British have thrown 40,000 troops and have equipped 100,000 auxiliary police in Malaya, imposing collective punishments on whole villages, but still cannot suppress the fight for independence.

Direct aid from U.S. imperialism could not give the Dutch capitalists victory over the Indonesian masses. Even in the Philippines, American power has not destroyed the revolutionary guerrillas, who are a growing threat.

Japan, which MacArthur considers his military base of operations in the East, is temporarily under control. But the Japanese people have no wish to serve as cannon fodder for Washington, and even the reactionary Japanese government pays lip service to the masses' opposition to rearmament.

Not only Korea but all Asia is aflame with revolutionary conflagrations. This titanic movement has already destroyed the equilibrium of imperialism, and plunged capitalism into the severest crisis in its history.

Only by mobilizing their entire resources, preparing a tremendous military force at colossal cost, would the U.S. have even the barest chance to defeat the Asian masses. The victories of the Chinese armies in alliance with the Koreans against the white imperialists has aroused the independent spirit of Asia as a whole. The struggle against imperialism has spread like wildfire. In a few short months the power-facade of U.S. imperialism has been torn aside, and the inner weaknesses of the last bastion of capitalism have been revealed.

But the issue is not yet drawn. Like a hungry beast thwarted in its hunt for prey, U.S. imperialism may find it necessary to withdraw into its lair, but only to gather strength and strike again. The oppressed masses of Asia and the whole world now know their enemy. Threats of atomic annihilation issued by Truman have won no friends. Both sides prepare: the imperialists on the one side, the oppressed majority of mankind on the other.

UNIONS PROVED POWER IN LIMITED STRUGGLES

Despite the retreats of the leadership and their subservience to the capitalist government, organized labor demonstrated in 1950 that its basic power was far from crushed.

The organizational structure of the unions — 16 million strong — remained intact. The American capitalists, unable to smash the unions, depended upon the union bureaucracy to hold this dynamic force in check. With the exception of John L. Lewis, the labor leadership performed like eager flunkeys.

The power of American labor when given a strong leadership was proved to the hilt by the victory of the United Mine Workers. They swept aside Truman's Taft-Hartley injunctions, and in an inspiring show of solidarity wrested important economic concessions from the soft coal operators in last winter's strike.

The Chrysler workers stood firm for 100 days in a one-at-a-time strike which the auto barons hoped would wreck the union. But the Chrysler workers, bolstered by support from all sections of the labor movement, maintained their grip, and succeeded in winning some limited concessions. This strike was followed by new contracts in Ford and General Motors.

While top leaders of the AFL were offering a no-strike pledge, the railroad workers went on strike; in this case Truman's strikebreaking through military seizure succeeded in robbing the workers of any gains.

"WILDCAT" RESULTS

Spiraling inflation following the undeclared war on Korea provoked a series of "wildcat" strikes, which swept aside the long term contracts and forced the employers to reopen wage negotiations ahead of schedule. Workers in auto and other industries won wage increases. The escalator clause, protecting living standards against rising prices, was written into union agreements covering over a million workers.

All this was done over the heads of the leaders, without organization or plan — a token of the power that lay untapped, awaiting a militant leadership.

While the alliance between the union leadership, Big Business and government did not completely paralyze the effectiveness of the workers on the economic plane, the policy of class collaboration completely thwarted the workers politically.

POLITICAL FRUSTRATION

The 1948 election, in which Truman's "Fair Deal" program rallied the workers, was followed by flagrant betrayal. Instead of enacting the program of social welfare which had been promised, Truman unleashed the witch-hunt; labor-endorsed congressmen turned their backs on the workers, enacting the McCarran-Kilgore thought-control law.

But the union leadership did not protest. They did not move to organize the proven political power of the organized workers into an independent party of labor. On the contrary, they fell into step with the warmongers and the witch-hunters, purging the unions, hounding the militants and traveling to Europe as salesmen for U.S. imperialism.

By 1950 the workers were fed up with the politics of their leaders. They were left without a political home. The rout of many candidates bearing labor's political endorsements in the 1950 elections, the resounding victory of Taft in Ohio, were the direct results of company unionism in politics.

On the eve of 1951 the union bureaucrats showed no signs of having learned a lesson. Instead of turning toward independent political action, they are still functioning as servile agents of Big Business in politics. They remain wholehearted supporters of U.S. foreign policy, whose consequences require a wage freeze, labor regimentation and militarization at home.

NEED NEW LEADERS

The workers managed to make themselves felt in 1950 despite the obstruction of their leaders. But isolated struggles will not suffice for the future.

The problems that lie ahead are even more difficult than those of the past year. Labor requires a new leadership which will mobilize the independent power of the working class both in economic struggle and on the political field. Only then will the American workers begin to fulfill their historic role.

The Kremlin Remained In State of Crisis Too

By George Breitman

The crisis of world imperialism has tended during 1950 to overshadow the crisis of world Stalinism, but it would be a grave mistake to believe that the latter has been resolved merely because of the setbacks to imperialism in the Far East and other parts of the world. For the whole postwar experience demonstrated beyond doubt that the expansionism of Stalinism introduced new shocks into the Kremlin's system, afflicted the Soviet bureaucracy with new insoluble problems, and undermined rather than buttressed its efforts to achieve stability.

Late in 1949, in the fourth year of his domination over Eastern Europe, Stalin had to send his Marshal Rokossovsky into Poland because he could not trust the Stalinist leaders he had installed there. This year the process was extended further. A Bulgarian-born Soviet general had to be sent to Bulgaria to guard the Kremlin's interests, tiny Albania was flooded with Soviet "advisers," the purges and frameup trials continued without abatement in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and now the entire party in Eastern Germany has been ordered to undergo new mass purges.

By repressions of this kind Stalin was able in 1950 to prevent the rise of any new "Titos" in Eastern Europe, and to further transform the economic, political and social structures of those countries on the model of the degenerated Soviet state. He was able to continue exploiting the resources and manpower of these buffer countries, but he could boast of nothing substantial or dependable in them. Given the opportunity, he knew, the peoples and even some of the leaders of these countries would gladly drive out all of his generals, secret police and quislings.

Knowing that all Eastern Europe has its eyes on Yugoslavia, the Kremlin tightened the squeeze on the rebels of that country. Stalin's propagandists screamed in anguish when Belgrade began to introduce a number of reforms, including the law on workers councils and management of industry, which is in such contrast to the developments behind the Iron Curtain. Every progressive move made in Yugoslavia was a nail in the coffin of the Soviet bureaucracy's prestige in Eastern Europe, and led to redoubled efforts by the Cominform to destroy Yugoslavia's independence.

Only in recent months has the Kremlin been able to breathe a little easier with regard to Yugoslavia. On top of the devastating Cominform blockade and menacing maneuvers along her border, Yugoslavia was hit by a terrible drought and the fear that Korea marked the beginning of a general military offensive by Stalinism. In return for aid from Washington, the leaders of the Yugoslav CP began to move to the right in foreign policy and thus to give ammunition to the Kremlin's lying propaganda that independence from Stalinism must lead inevitably to subservience to imperialism.

RELATIONS WITH ASIA

Like Washington's, Moscow's headaches are not in Europe alone. In Japan early this year, the CP gave a vote of confidence to its leader after he had been criticized by the Cominform, and expelled a Cominform mouthpiece. In Indo-China the Ho Chi Minh government expressed its readiness for diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. Although both these differences were later smoothed over, they were significant symptoms of resistance to Kremlin dictation.

Capitalist propaganda persists in depicting the Mao Tse-tung regime as a Chinese puppet of Stalin, but it must fly in the face of the facts to do so. The Chinese CP came to power without help from the Kremlin or the Soviet Army, just as the Yugoslavs did, and it is therefore no more disposed than they were to blindly obey Stalin's orders.

Their alliance with the Kremlin — as partners, not satellites — will last only so long as they believe they are benefiting from it. When they feel safe from the threats of imperialism, they will not tolerate the kind of unequal treatment represented by the "mixed Sino-Soviet companies" for the exploitation of Sinkiang's oil and mineral resources that Stalin put on the pressure to obtain early this year after his conferences with Mao in Moscow.

If Stalin has his hands full maintaining "law and order" in Eastern Europe, where Russian bayonets put his stooges in power, he will have a ten times harder job trying to regiment revolutionary Asia, which will decline to surrender to anyone the independence it is winning with its own blood and muscle. But Stalin will seek sooner or later to impose his dictation because the nature of Stalinism does not permit any power within its sphere of influence to indefinitely retain independence of the Kremlin. That is why it is superficial reasoning to view the victories of the anti-imperialist movement as elements contributing to the permanent strengthening of Stalinism.

Finally, there is the situation inside the Soviet Union itself that the Kremlin must contend with. Censorship prevents the rest of the world from knowing what is going on there, the moods of the masses at the prospect of another ruinous war, etc. But Stalin knows. Surely, it was not by accident that, last January, he restored the death penalty for political offenses, which had been abolished after World War II as a sign of the "increased stability" of the government. Stalin knows, better than many of his opponents, that Stalinism remains a regime of permanent crisis, even in its "home base."

Europe Exhibited Hate of War

By John F. Petrone

The most important development in Western Europe during 1950 was the growth of anti-war sentiment and the drastic decline of U.S. prestige, both products in large part of the clash in Asia between imperialism and the colonial uprisings led by the Stalinists.

Anti-war moods and distrust of Washington were most strikingly expressed by the elections in Western Germany, where the masses in effect voted against rearmament plans ordered by the U.S. State Department. It was recognized everywhere that in this case the German people were speaking for the people of all Europe. These sentiments could not be ignored by the West European governments which, moreover, were alarmed at the prospect that the spread of war in Asia would mean the speedy end of the remnants of their colonial empires in the Far East.

European capitalism was on the way to achieving a temporary and shaky economic equilibrium in 1950. But this was threatened by Washington's orders to shift the emphasis to remilitarization, which means lowered living standards for the masses and can touch off new waves of working class struggle. That was why, toward the end of the year, American imperialism began to discover reluctance and even resistance to some of its plans from its junior partners in Western Europe.

READY TO STRUGGLE

The workers were on the whole passive although dissatisfied with the turn of events. But at decisive moments and where the opportunity presented itself they showed readiness to support a policy of struggle. This was the case not only in Germany, but in the earlier elections in Britain and in the conflict over the monarchy in Belgium.

The British Labor Party leadership conducted a timid and inept election campaign against the Tories, who increased their strength among the middle classes discontented with the government's austerity program. But the discipline and class-consciousness of the British workers prevented a victory for the Tories and returned the Laborites to power, although with a greatly reduced majority.

In little Belgium the workers gave even more unmistakable evidence of their determination to prevent a return to the prewar status quo. When the ruling class tried to bring back the notoriously pro-fascist King Leopold, the workers struck and took to the streets, dragging their Social Democratic leaders along with them. Their demonstrations shook the country to its foundations and left bourgeois commentators all over the world gasping about the revival of the specter of revolution even in countries where capitalist "democracy" prevails and Stalinist influence is extremely weak.

The Stalinists remained strong in France and Italy, but in those countries too their following was less than at any time since the end of the war. Their strike adventures, called in complete disregard of the workers' moods, showed that many who were still sympathetic would not follow them in any enterprise. In Britain and Germany their vote declined. In Paris, despite an appeal by the Stalinist press, they were unable to round up enough people to break up a rally of the French youth brigade to Yugoslavia.

One of the most heartening developments of the year was the rise of the movement for the formation of a new workers party in Germany, whose paper, **Freie Tribune**, began to attract sizable numbers of revolutionary elements, including former Stalinists disgusted with their party's policy in Germany and the Kremlin's attacks on Yugoslavia.

1950 showed once again that the peoples of Europe are hostile both to Washington and Moscow. They don't want war, and they don't want to return to the conditions that existed in Europe before the last war. What they want is the peace and prosperity that can be introduced only through a Socialist United States of Europe. When they discover that this road is blocked not only by American imperialism and Stalinism but also by their own capitalist and Social Democratic rulers, now trying to divert them with Shuman Plans, Councils of Europe and Atlantic Pacts, they will move with a revolutionary vigor greater than they have ever shown in the past.

THE MILITANT

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A Hero's Reward

By George Lavan

Almost two years ago James Walker, a Negro filling station attendant in Cincinnati, risked his life to pull a taxi driver from his flaming cab. Before Walker plunged into the flaming cab he surely hadn't thought of Andrew Carnegie. Yet Andrew Carnegie, dead since 1919, had thought of him.

In 1904 that greatest and most artless of capitalist philanthropists endowed the Andrew Carnegie Hero Fund. Its purpose was to reward acts of heroism by men and women in the "humble" walks of life.

As soon as the Carnegie Hero Fund for North America got word of Mr. Walker's deed and had investigated the particulars, it sent him its hero medal. It also decided that he was entitled to the munificent reward of $500.

This all happened almost two years ago. What made it news recently is that Walker has been trying in vain all this time to get his reward money. The alacrity with which the Fund sends out medals to heroes is balanced by its caution in sending the dough.

This is not due to any stinginess on the part of those who administer the Fund. It is simply that they are conscientiously pursuing the principles of philanthropy laid down by Carnegie. They couldn't simply send the hero $500 and congratulate him. He might not spend it in a way that would "permanently benefit" him. Indeed he might spend it foolishly or even get into trouble with it. The slightest suspicion of such a procedure in giving reward money would be enough to make Andrew turn in his grave. And Andrew's rest is probably none too peaceful in view of his record on the bloody Homestead strike.

The newspapers of last week recounted that Mr. Walker's latest attempt to get his money had failed. He wanted the money for a down-payment on a combined house and store. Regretfully the Fund decided that he might not be able to keep up on the payments and stated, "We don't want to be the ones to put him over his head in debt." But lest he get down-hearted it added that the Fund was "eager" to send him the money "as soon" as he suggested a way of spending it that would "be assured of helping him."

This was how matters stood on Dec. 12, 1950. And here we must leave our hero, racking his brains for some plan to pry the Hero Fund loose from his reward money.

When Andy Carnegie established the Hero Fund, Mr. Dooley, that great Irish philosopher and wit, was convinced it was aimed at him. He mistrusted Carnegie's philanthropy, believing it was all done to perpetuate Andy's name and vanity. On hearing of it, Dooley cried: "He's run me to earth. I throw up me hands. Come on, Andhrew, paint ye'er illusthrees name on me. Stencil me with that gloryous name."

In the absence of any newspaper pictures of the medal so' generously given to Walker, curiosity will have to be satisfied with Dooley's conception of that decoration:

> To Martin Dooley, Hero,
>
> THIS MEDAL IS PRISINTED BY
>
> **Andhrew Carnaygie**
>
> DULCY ET DECORUM EST
> PRO CARNAYGIE

Mr. Dooley's dissertation on Carnegie's Hero Fund concluded as follows: "Ye'er a hero ye'ersilf, towin' those tired feet afther ye ivry mornin' whin th' whistle blows. An', be Hivens, if ye'er wife had a medal f'r ivry act iv heeroism she's performed she'd have as many now as Sousa. Heroes in the humble walks iv life, says he? Well, there's enough iv thim to break him if he give each wan iv thim th' on'y kind iv medals they need, th' kind th' governmint foundhry makes with an eagle on th' back."

Revival of 'Isolationism'?

By John G. Wright

Are we witnessing a resurgence of isolationism in this country as a consequence of the current world crisis?

In his nationally syndicated column, David Lawrence not only affirms this is so but confidently predicts the further growth of isolationism. "More 'isolationists' have been born in the last few days," he wrote on Dec. 4, " . . .than were bred since the 1920's. The demand for America to go its own way in world affairs — helping in Europe or in Asia as its resources permit — will become the demand of many political groups inside both major parties." And he goes on to imply that such a tendency will be fed by moods and attitudes of a still recent past. "Isolationism bored within the Democratic as well as the Republican party as late as 1932," he recalls.

During Attlee's recent stay in Washington, Lawrence was only one of a rather sizable chorus chanting the same theme. This was obviously done to bring added pressure on the recalcitrant West Europeans. At the same time, however, it was also intended to stiffen the Truman administration in its stand against "retreat and surrender in the Far East," as the same Lawrence puts it.

And here we come to the gist of this "isolationism" which has been asserting itself so aggressively and which is being advanced by a section of American capitalists in their bid to determine U.S. foreign policy.

This "isolationism" has nothing in common with the traditional continental conservatism, which had its roots in the expanding internal market of rising capitalist America, and which found its popular expression in the cry, "America for the Americans," in the days when foreign policy was directed along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine.

But this isolationism, as Leon Trotsky pointed out long ago, was completely dislodged by World War I and "supplanted by the program of imperialism: 'The Whole World for the Americans.'" World War II and its aftermath put the finishing touches to this process and saw Washington arrogantly assuming and asserting its "global responsibilities."

The differences between the present-day imperialist "internationalists" and their opponents — who are demagogically labelled as "isolationists" — lie on an entirely different plane from the disputes over foreign policy following World War I.

The "internationalists," who formulate administration policies, regard Western Europe as the decisive arena where the struggle for world dominion will be fought out; and, if necessary, they are prepared for tactical retreats in Asia. The so-called isolationists, who are critical of the administration, insist on the contrary that Asia is decisive; that without fighting for Asia it is hopeless to fight for Europe; and they are prepared, if necessary, for tactical retreats in Europe, and from the UN itself.

If one side is skeptical about the political value and military prowess of the only available Asian allies, then the other side is even more dubious about the reliability and military value of the Atlantic "community."

But both sides pursue the self-same goal — world dominion. Moreover, both sides agree that the American colossus, powerful as it is, cannot commit itself simultaneously in Asia and in Europe. A choice must be made.

And in this very choice is expressed the historical blind-alley in which American imperialists have arrived. It is true, they cannot win in Europe once they lose Asia. And just as truly, they can never hope to win in Asia, if Europe is lost. And so the dispute among them over foreign policy rages on. But in this dispute the isolationism of the past plays no significant role. It is as dead as the dinosaur.

Goose Step in the Schools

By James Dall

The military crisis of American imperialism has already begun to twist the whole educational system to fit the campaign to militarize the youth.

Plans to Prussianize education were well underway even before Truman's declaration of a national emergency. U.S. reversals in Korea have merely speeded up the process.

The most immediate and pressing problem is the quick reinforcement of the Army, raising its strength to 3½ million. Virtually all proposals to achieve this aim are based on lowering the draft age from 19 to 18. But this is only an expedient and stop-gap. The lower the draft age the less equipped are the youth for the modern technological aspects of war. What the brass hats want is a larger army, as many youth as possible, trained for the new ways of war.

Long-range plans based on a permanent perspective of militarism are being formulated to resolve this problem. A resolution of the Association of American Universities recommends a 27-month period of military service for all youth, and "upon the completion of the required period of training and service all inductees shall be transferred to an appropriate reserve organization, for a period of years, from which they can be called upon in a general mobilization."

This projects permanent militarization of all the youth. But the plans go further than that.

The proposal continues: "There shall be no deferment from universal training and service except that some students already in college should be deferred. . . on condition that. . . (they) shall be obligated to serve. . . as directed by the Secretary of Defense in the national interest, military or otherwise. . . . . Inductees shall be compensated at a nominal rate of pay."

This monstrous proposal could mean the universal induction of youth into the army, and their assignment to work in industry under military rule at scab wages. This blueprint for economic enslavement of the youth presents a real danger to the labor movement.

Even training for professions and trades under this plan would be directed toward "the military needs of the nation." That is, the sciences would be taught with an eye toward tying the young engineers, physicists, doctors and architects to the war machine.

Other educational authorities have additional contributions to make toward the universal regimentation of youth. The New York State Board of Regents last week proposed condensing the high-school curriculum to three years, so that inductees at the age of 18 could have one year of college behind them. This, the Board of Regents said, would result in a "gain in maturity of judgment."

The unpopularity of this proposal is assured by the suggestion that it be achieved by eliminating summer vacation periods.

In addition, the same board states that emphasis "should be placed on acquainting our youth with our American heritage and. . . the present international situation. . . revising the program for the teaching of American history." Thus, in the process of indoctrinating the youth, American history will be distorted to meet the imperialist needs of Wall Street.

Oscar L. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, suggests "basic (military) training during the high school years. . . increase (of) the teaching of technical skills of military value" so that "a high school graduate could move directly into an air force ground crew assignment." He further envisages "the setting up of a federal body to act with the military in allocating young men to college."

In simpler language this means the military training of youth beginning at the age of 14. It further would bring about a rigid military censorship over all education, and allow army officers to decide just who could go on from high school to college. The class discrimination which today prevents working class youth from getting a higher education would be strengthened by the direct dictatorship of the military.

It is reported that Selective Service Administrator General Hershey will soon submit a program to Congress incorporating the essential features of all these proposals.

American youth will be confronted with mature problems early in life. This will contribute to their early politicalization and radicalization. Militarization has always been the mortal foe of youth. But it is the only future which U.S. capitalism has to offer them.

Mother Loses Her Children for Telling Truth About Korea

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 17 — **A Los Angeles judge this week deprived a mother of the custody of her two children because she had criticized American intervention in Korea.**

Because of alleged "leanings toward Communism," Mrs. Jean B. Field, of Santa Monica, was denied the right to continue to care for her two children whom she had supported for the past 10 years from her earnings as a secretary.

While elsewhere in the city officials were commemorating "Bill of Rights Week," Superior Judge Harold W. Schweitzer awarded the children to the father, Vernon C. Field, of Oklahoma City. Field had sought custody on the grounds that his former wife had written letters to the children while they were visiting him, characterizing American intervention as imperialist, and saying that all Koreans are anti-American. Field contended this made her "unfit" to rear the children. Judge Schweitzer agreed.

DiSalle Sworn In

At a special ceremony in Washington, Michael DiSalle, former mayor of Toledo, is sworn in as price administrator by Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark. That doesn't mean that prices are now going to be controlled, however. DiSalle's emphasis for the time being is on soliciting "voluntary" controls from the price-gougers and profiteers, which is like asking a tiger to become a vegetarian "voluntarily."

Hard-Won Hiring Hall Again Faces Destruction

By R. Bell

The union hiring hall is the backbone of unionism in the maritime industry. By their craven capitulation to the government and its military-police agencies the union officials have struck a mortal blow at this vital nerve center of independent unionism on the waterfront. A brief historical review will indicate the enormity of this betrayal.

From the beginning, union control of hiring was the central issue in every major dispute with the shipowners. And necessarily so. It was the only real protection for union men against the shipowners' blacklist.

According to maritime law, seamen sign articles which terminate upon the completion of the voyage. New articles are signed for each succeeding voyage. The articles are, in essence, a labor contract between the individual seaman and the employer, executed under the supervision of the government. Under the circumstances, the unrestricted power to hire and fire becomes a potent weapon to discourage union organization, victimize union militants and dictate the terms under which the men shall sail the ships.

In the early days of union struggle, when the shipowners were able to beat down the unions, the employers' hiring halls flourished. Their most effective instrument against union organization was the blacklist, which operated through the continuous discharge book in which the seaman's record was noted.

GOVERNMENT ROLE

In every conflict involving control of the seagoing personnel, the government was found on the side of the operators: sometimes aiding, sometimes leading the attack. In 1921, for example, the U.S. Shipping Board locked out the unions and through its Sea Service Bureaus (hiring halls) proceeded to smash union organization in the maritime industry. For years, the Shipping Board-shipowners' blacklist "screened" union militants from the industry, while wages and working conditions were driven down.

For 13 years the unions lay prostrate. Then, with the militant upsurge in 1934 the hiring hall issue again became the focal point in dispute. Roosevelt's "New Deal" government strove mightily to smash the '34 strike — and failed. The seamen went back, victorious, their unions recognized, but without the hiring hall clause in their contract. It required another three-month strike, in 1936-37, to win that demand.

This was the period of the spectacular rise of the CIO. The shipowners, by themselves, were unable to contend with the rising tide of union militancy on the waterfront. Once again the government intervened on the side of the operators. Congress adopted the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, more commonly known as the Copeland Act. The Act made it mandatory for all seamen to carry a Continuous Discharge (Fink) Book and authorized the government to operate open shop hiring halls.

FINK BOOK FIGHT

The West Coast seafaring unions, just emerging from a 99 day strike, met this threat head on. They refused to accept the Continuous Discharge Book and forced the government to delete the provision making it mandatory for seamen to carry the fink book. This device, originated by the shipowners, was too well remembered and too well hated to be accepted by men who had so recently suffered and fought and won their status as independent union men in the struggle against fink book blacklisting and fink hall hiring.

In 1938, the government once more essayed a frontal assault by opening fink halls in several ports on the East and West Coasts. Picket lines were thrown around these halls and the government was finally compelled to abandon the project. The unions were too adamant in their determination to defend the hiring hall for such frontal assaults to succeed. When even the Taft-Hartley Act, which outlaws the union hiring hall, failed to seriously shake union control of hiring, the government executed a flanking maneuver.

OFFICIALS CONSENT

Seizing upon the opportunity offered by the Korean adventure the government called the union officials to Washington and gained their consent to "screen" the merchant marine personnel to weed out "undesirables." The Coast Guard was designated as the screening authority. Through the opening provided by the union fakers the government rapidly proceeded to establish its machinery of control.

The Coast Guard Commandant in Washington was given absolute authority over all seagoing personnel. All seamen's papers were called in and new, "validated" papers are to be issued by the Coast Guard. Men whose "character and habits of life" meet with the disapproval of the brass hats can be arbitrarily deprived of their livelihood. In a word, in the hands of the anti-union Coast Guard rests the power to decide who shall and who shall not sail the ships. The union bureaucrats have paved the way for the restoration of the blacklist to plague union seamen and destroy union militancy. In the process, they have succeeded in undermining the union hiring hall by surrendering union control over the personnel.

LABOR MOVEMENT ALARMED BY THREAT OF WAGE FREEZE

(Continued from Page 1)

the administration is preparing to clamp down on wages and, first of all, on the escalator clauses which provide for periodic automatic wage increases in proportion to the rises in the cost of living. In addition, the auto workers enjoy the highest industrial wages in the U.S.

General Motors has taken the position thet if it is to roll back its recent price increases then it cannot be required to fulfill the terms of the escalator clause. The corporation is standing on solid legal ground because the Defense Production Act of 1950 provides that wherever prices are frozen in an industry, wages must likewise be frozen. Truman signed that Act.

GM is putting on pressure to force the administration to withdraw its price "roll-back" order. The corporation suspended sale of its automobiles on which prices had been increased. It hopes either to get its price boost or force the administration to abrogate GM's escalator wage contract.

If Truman had any real belief in the effectiveness of his price "control" program, there would be no reason for him to be concerned about the possible "inflationary" effect of escalator wage clauses. These are operative only if prices go up.

The insistence of the union leaders that "wage stabilization must not become wage freezing" is a welcome stand, although it must be pointed out that "wage stabilization" can scarcely be anything else but a wage freeze and any form of such "stabilization" is directed toward preventing wage increases.

However, what do they propose by way of a program of action to prevent wage freezing? What action are they prepared to take — other than verbal protest — if Truman does nullify the escalator clauses as the first step to barring all wage raises? Here is where their weakness becomes manifest.

The union leaders are serving on the government's wage stabilization board and giving it sanction. They are taking no steps to mobilize the labor movement for independent action. They give no assurance that their opposition won't fold up, as it did in the last war, when the government commands them as their "patriotic duty" to accept wage freezing, compulsory arbitration, etc.

AUSTERITY AND "GARRISON STATE" DECREED FOR AMERICA BY TRUMAN

(Continued from Page 1)

will be devoured by the war machine and the people will stand in line before empty store shelves. Profiteers and black market operators will squeeze the people for the last penny for scarce and shoddy substitutes. The war contractors, operating through the government, will reach directly into the people's pockets for extortionate taxes to pay for their "cost-plus."

"EUROPEANIZATION"

As for social reforms, these will be lopped off as "inessential" non-military expenses. Instead of a "Fair Deal" the American people face a decline toward that kind of "austerity" regime for which the U.S. capitalist press jeered at the British Laborite government. Instead of the "American way of life," we are to have the "Europeanization" of this country's living standards and "Prussianization" of its political structure.

Truman, under the guise of his "national emergency," announced he would "take direct measures" to halt inflation by imposing "price control" on a "number of materials and products." He added that the government "will also undertake to stabilize wages, as the law requires." For the time being, however, the government will merely "announce fair standards for prices and wages" and leave it up to the corporations to apply these standards. Naturally, the corporations will ignore the price standards and enforce the wage standards. Where price ceilings are imposed — though they will not be strictly enforced, we can be sure — it will be the pretext for wage freezes.

STRIKEBREAKING

It is significant that Truman at the last minute inserted into his speech a direct attack on striking railroad workers and ordered them to end their strike and accept the 48-hour week against which they have been fighting for two years. He said not a word about the railroad profiteers and did not order them to give the workers a 40-hour week without reductions in their weekly pay.

He made no mention of the exorbitant profits the corporations have been enjoying since the start of the Korean war. On profits generally, all he expressed was the pious "hope" that "Congress will enact an excess-profits tax at this session." He threatened "mandatory controls" on wages. And to ensure that the war economy will be run in the interests of Big Business he named Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, as Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization with supreme power to rule over production, manpower and "economic stabilization."

PEOPLE NOT CONVINCED

The action of Truman in ordering the economic and military clamps placed upon the American people means that the imperialist ruling circles have decided that from now on only coercion and enforced regimentation will keep the American people in line for further war adventures. These harsh measures reflect the fact that Truman has not convinced the people that the war in Korea is just and righteous or that it is worth the sacrifice and the risk of a greater war.

UAW Leaders Negotiate Rotten Chrysler Pact

DETROIT, Dec. 16 — The Reuther administration of the UAW-CIO has reached an agreement on a 5-year GM-type contract with Chrysler Corporation. The new contract was negotiated secretly in a back-door deal with the corporation. Rank and file Chrysler workers, as well as the committeemen and stewards in the locals, first heard about the negotiations and new agreement on the radio this week. All constitutional provisions for the negotiation of new contracts were brutally violated by the international.

The contract being supplanted was a 3-year agreement with annual opening dates on wages, ratified after the 100-day strike last spring. The new contract carries over to Chrysler all the features of the GM 5-year agreement, plus a number of even worse provisions. It extends the Chrysler contract to 5 years, ending Aug. 31, 1955. It institutes a 5-year wage freeze and bans any contract improvements whatsoever for the same period.

WORSE THAN AT GM

It even undercuts the pitiable concessions of the GM contract, which allows five yearly 4c. increases to basic wage scales, amounting to 20c. in five years. The Chrysler agreement provides for four annual 4c. increases beginning next year, or 16c. But since the Reutner bureaucrats agreed to cut all basic wage rates 10c an hour, it adds up to a total wage gain of 6c. in 5 years!

According to the contract, "The Corporation and the Union recognize that, because of rate increases that have been agreed to in the past, the current straight time hourly rates for each classification covered by this agreement include a cost of living allowance, as described below, of 10c. per hour. Therefore, the base hourly rates for each classification covered by this agreement shall be 10c below the current straight time hourly rates for each classification." **This means the dime won as a result of the recent wild-cat strikes is being donated to the corporation.**

Reuther's use of the escalator clause in this agreement is a cruel deception of the rank and file. For years the Trotskyists advocated an escalator clause in union contracts as one of the most effective methods of maintaining the workers' living standards during inflation. Both Reuther and the Stalinists opposed this violently. When Reuther did accept it, he perverted it to serve his own needs, not the needs of the rank and file.

The escalator principle is not an improvement factor but a protective safety device. It provides no wage increases. It only maintains the purchasing power of real wages. To use it as an alibi for a 10c. an hour cut, plus abandonment of the fight for adequate annual increases, plus a 5-year wage freeze, plus a 5-year ban on all contract improvements, is adding insult to injury.

Here is one example of how the contract freeze operates to the advantage of the corporation: The previous contract gave the company the right to ignore seniority by setting up a preferred list of apple polishers, designated as "exceptional employees . . . who have a skill needed in facilitating the start of a new model or at times working forces are reduced."

Now the officials have agreed to bind the union not even to try to remove this open shop practice for five years. This comes at a time when many Chrysler workers are protesting bitterly against being cheated of their seniority rights in the current model-change layoffs.

Militants are disgusted by the back-door methods used to reach agreement with the corporation on this new contract long before the members even were informed of what was going on. They call attention to the front-page joint statement by Robert C. Conders, Chrysler director of labor relations, and Norman Matthews, director of the UAW Chrysler department, printed in the Dodge Local 3 paper.

This is in striking contrast with the atmosphere that prevailed at the end of the last strike, when top UAW officials even refused to pose for the customary post-strike photos with corporation officials. They note that the corporation fell all over itself to agree to this contract, unlike those of the past, and they say this shows up the real nature of the sellout.

The Reuther machine is speeding plans to impose similar agreements on the independent locals like Briggs. The rank and file are not being informed or consulted in advance.

CONSERVATIVE APPEAL

The contract is being sold by appealing to the conservative, the intimidated and the older workers. The same pattern is followed as at GM. The "one-at-a-time" strategy results in a lengthy strike with few benefits. Large sections of the membership lose confidence in the union and recoil from the consideration of strike action.

In this atmosphere the Reuther leadership confronts an unprepared and leaderless membership with an ultimatum. "This 5-year agreement is the best we can get. It will eliminate strikes. Take it or leave it, but if you vote it down, be prepared for long strikes. Let the other fellow (GM, Ford, etc.) carry the ball next time." Faced with this blind alley situation, the auto workers see no practical alternative but acceptance.

A new leadership is needed — a leadership determined as a matter of principle to restore democracy and the mass power of the rank and file in the fight for improved union conditions and wages. Only such a leadership can and will restore the confidence of the members in their union. Only such a leadership can successfully meet the challenge of the government's wage-freeze plans, which will try to eliminate the escalator cost-of-living clause and annual wage improvement increases.